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593 On the whole, the structural attitude of husband to wife is one of possession and protection. While the husband assumes the major role in all the activities outside the house, the woman rules almost supreme in matters connected with the household organization.

The second pattern of relationship is that between father and children. With his children, as with his wife, the father avoids excessive intimacy in order to be respected and obeyed. By keeping social distance, he can be regarded as the most powerful agent in administering the moral and social code of conduct. Through his curt and abrupt admonitions he controls both his sons and daughters. In practice he has more to do with his sons, while the mother has more to do with her daughters, but of course there is a great degree of overlapping. There are no serious clashes between parents as to their respective rights of rearing the children. The mother always tries to keep her children quiet while their father is in the house.

[611] The absolute authority of the father over children is due to the fact that they belong to him and his family of orientation. Yet it is also recognized that only the mother and the mother's people can provide the immature children with affection and tenderness. According to Moslem law, imma-
[586] ture children, in case of divorce, can be kept with the mother till the age of seven for a boy, and the age of nine for a girl, while the father sends the expenses of upbringing to the mother. If the mother dies the care and
[855] upbringing of children is usually entrusted to their maternal aunt or maternal grandmother.

The authority of the parents is sanctioned by the Koran. Obedience of
[577] children to their parents comes next to the Moslem's major obligations to God and the Prophet. Disobedience to parents ('okouk al walidain) is one of the major sins which is harshly punished in the next world, and, according to Ali, even in this world. A disobedient son or daughter will never live a successful or happy life on earth, and the parents' curse might even affect the son's or daughter's children. To obtain the parental blessing, he continued, is more important than to inherit land or wealth from them, as having their blessing is a prerequisite for both piety and success. Thus, if the father is to wield authority and provide protection, the son or daughter must show 'filial piety' and submission to him as well as to the mother.

One can cite many avoidances that a son must observe in connection with his father, especially in public. A mature son is not expected to sit beside his father in the same gathering; and if his presence is required he should play a very subordinate role, usually evidenced by the fact that he speaks as little as possible, and withdraws at the earliest possible opportunity. If it happens that the father is sitting on a bench at a funeral, for example, the son should sit on the ground; and if he has to sit on a bench, he should not sit on the same bench as his father, or on one opposite to him in order to avoid the face to face position. If the son is lying on the ground, he should sit upon seeing his father passing by; and he should never

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with ease in the same gathering with their maternal uncles, but not with their paternal uncles. The relations between paternal and maternal cousins fall in the same line with that of the father's or mother's side.

One of the most salient features that underlies the structural relationships is that although the fabric forming the ideological basis for the social structure is entirely patrilineal as far as descent, inheritance, and prestige are concerned, yet it is dyed in a sentimental and emotional colouring which is preponderantly matrilineal. Towards the close matrilineal kin, the relations are certainly not weaker than towards the close patrilineal kin; they are of a different kind. If the relation of the 'ego' towards the patrilineal side is one of apprehension and alertness, and businesslike, as it were, the relation to the affinal side is one of affection, ease and jesting. It is not unusual for a sister who asks her brother for help to address him as 'Son of my mother' as a means of enlisting his sympathy; or for a brother, on going to visit his sister, to say 'I am going to see "my mother's daughter" '. Some men, whose mothers are of forceful character or whose fathers were married to other wives, are publicly called by their first names followed by their mother's first names. A man or a woman relates himself or herself always to the mother in situations of charm-writing, of incantations to ward off the evil eye or in similar magic rituals. In invoking God's help, women relate the person for whom they are praying to his mother, as this is considered the most genuine and moving way of appealing to God. This could be regarded as further evidence for the emphasis on the matrilineal sentiment in the social structure. In the case of a man or a woman referred directly to his or her mother, this could also be regarded as a functionally convenient way of distinguishing between him or her and the paternal half-brothers or half-sisters. The reference to the matrilineal origin in a polygamous patrilineal society seems to be a device used to distinguish between agnates.[1] Moreover, what Firth has written about the role of the mother's brother in a segmentary system of patrilineal type, applies to Silwa community. In this village, the khal or khala, or the maternal side in general, provides certain compensatory social functions to those provided by the father and the paternal side. The former side provides, as Firth put it, 'a locus of attachment and refuge for the children of the women by contrast with the demands laid upon them by their father's group'. Again, the recognition of the mother's brother's group as one of special interest provides a channel for large-scale social communication and reciprocity between it and the father's group.[2] The same applies to the recognition of in-law relationship.[3]

Such relations and norms governing the relationship between the family

[1] E. L. Peters in his review of Hilma Granqvist, 'Child Problems among the Arabs' in *Man*, Vol. LI, September 1951, p. 126.

[2] Raymond Firth in his review of M. Fortes, 'The Web of Kinship' in *Africa*, Vol. XXI, April, 1951, p. 159.

[3] For kinship terms in Silwa, see Appendix IV, 'A Note on Kinship Terms'.

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APPENDIX IV

601 Silf: sister's husband.
Hama (class. hamu): father-in-law.
Hamah: mother-in-law.
Naseeb: general category for male in-laws, literally meaning related.
Nasibah: general category for female in-laws.

It is also interesting to note that there is a distinction made between true brothers from the same parents called 'Ashika', and brothers from the father only, referred to occasionally as 'sons of the father'. The uterine brother is also called brother, and in inheritance procedures he is referred to as 'the concealed brother'. In the classical Arabic the grandson from the daughter is called 'Sibt', while that from the son is called 'Hafeed'. These two terms are not used, however, in the village, the persons concerned being referred to as 'wad bitty' ('my daughter's son') and 'wad walady' ('my son's son'). It is also significant to note the distinction between the patrilineal descent and the matrilineal descent. Relatives from the former are referred to as from the ' 'Asaba', which literally means 'backbone', while the latter are referred to as from the 'lahma' which means 'flesh'.

Such precise and defined Arabian kinship terms have led anthropologists to include them in the 'descriptive systems'. Yet distant relatives related to the patrilineal side, and of the father', or grandfather's generation, could be called ''Am' (paternal uncle), and less commonly ''Ab' (father) or 'Gid' (grandfather), and those on the mother's side are 'Khal'. Sometimes for a more distant relative the villagers, as they put it, 'calculate the degree', and find out the relations by abbreviating or simplifying the genealogy, e.g. by considering cousins as brothers.

611 Though kindred is traced through both parents (bilateral), yet inheritance, and social groupings of the extended family, clan and section are based on the unilateral patrilineal principle of kinship.